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cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma*, or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo*, or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
• 45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzoʔontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzoʔontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal*, the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as